



Implications of mobility and urban growth for planning and development in Tanzania

Urban Policy Brief

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RurbanAfrica

African Rural-City Connections

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Vigorous urbanization and city growth are central aspects of Tanzania's development during the past decade. Although the overall urbanization level remains fairly low it has increased from 23 per cent in 2002 to almost 30 per cent in 2012, (NBS, 2015). In absolute terms, the total urban population has increased from 7.9 million in 2002 to 13.3 million in 2012, which results in an average yearly growth rate of 5.3 per cent (NBS, 2015). Some individual cities may be growing even faster than that. Undoubtedly, Tanzania's growing cities represent a formidable planning challenge.

This policy brief is based on recent research carried out in two major and rapidly growing cities of Tanzania: Dar es Salaam and Arusha. Dar es Salaam is the largest city of Tanzania, and with a total population of 4.4 million in 2012, it is a big city in the context of sub-Saharan Africa (NBS, 2013). Arusha is one of the larger secondary cities of Tanzania. As the city stretches

beyond administrative boundaries, census data do not offer precise estimates for the population of the city of Arusha, but census figures indicate that it is likely to be more than 400,000 people (NBS, 2013). Both cities have experienced continuously high population growth rates fuelled by in-migration as well as high natural population increases. Population growth has been accompanied by widespread spatial expansion, involving horizontal development of the contiguously built-up urban areas (Andreasen, 2013). It is this latter aspect that is the focus of this policy brief.

MIGRATION INTO CITIES

Migrants form a significant share of the urban populations, though they are a diverse group. Migration histories are characterized by a pronounced diversity. Both men and women migrate, both independently or as part of families. The majority migrated in their youth, but there are also many who migrate as children or mature adults. The predominant motives for migrating



to the cities revolve around work, education and relations to other migrants or residents of the cities. Most of those who migrated in their youth did so as part of a strategy of becoming income-earning adults. Sending areas include rural areas, small towns and other larger cities of Tanzania as well as outside Tanzania. Dar es Salaam attracts migrants from all over Tanzania, whereas Arusha attracts migrants predominantly from the surrounding northern and central regions.

Migrants to the cities constitute a diverse group. Many migrants have lived in the cities for many years and consider themselves to be permanent urban residents. Increasingly urban residents are also born and grow up in and consider the cities as their primary homes. This group includes urban-born descendants of migrants as well as residents, who consider themselves indigenous to the urban regions. While some maintain ties to home areas in the form of social relations or land and property ownership, many have only weak or no ties at all.

URBAN EXPANSION AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Intra-urban residential mobility is a significant dynamic driving the spatial growth of the cities. Residents of outlying peripheral settlements are predominantly long-term urban residents, who are moving from more central and consolidated parts of the cities. Thus, although migration is important in fuelling urban population growth, migration is not a direct dynamic in urban expansion. New migrants predominantly settle in consolidated and central parts of the cities, either in rental

accommodation or in the homes of relatives, and commonly spend a considerable number of years moving around in the central parts of the cities, before moving towards the peripheries.

The search for affordable accommodation is at the heart of understanding much residential mobility towards the peripheries. New developments in outlying peripheral areas are catalysed by individual residents motivated by homeownership aspirations. Buying cheap, undeveloped land in the peripheries allows them to construct their own houses incrementally according to changing economic priorities of the household and variable income flows. In a context where housing finance is almost non-existent, this is the only way to become homeowners for the vast majority of the urban population. Aspiring homeowners commonly have a strong affinity for homeownership as a tenure form, often surprisingly unaffected by considerations concerning proximity to established livelihood activities, related to long journeys to work or the general lack of services and infrastructure at the time. An additional attraction in Arusha is the possibility to engage in supplementary urban farming activities.

Thus, homeownership is considered as a source of security in the context of a highly unregulated private rental market, an informal economy and lack of formal economic safety nets. This process also attracts a much wider variety of residents living as tenants, caretakers and with relatives whose settlement motivations are also primarily shaped by housing-related considerations.

INTRA-CITY CONNECTIONS

Daily or regular mobility and access to the city is very important for urban residents. Although, an increasing number of peripheral residents are able to work close to their homes, the majority of households rely on one or more members regularly travelling to central parts of the cities in relation to their livelihood activities. As many urban settlements remain poorly serviced, residents often need to travel relatively long distances to access urban facilities, services and market. Thus, in peripheral locations residents are widely dependant on motorized transportation, especially public transport. The outlying peripheral settlements, however, are characterized by very poor accessibility related to the inadequate provision of roads and public transport. Peripheral residents travelling regularly to the city centre commonly spend an exhausting number of hours on transport. This is much more severe in Dar es Salaam as the distances travelled from the periphery are much longer than in Arusha. Particularly for Dar es Salaam, poor accessibility is also related to the general dysfunctions of the overall mobility system of the city, i.e. traffic congestion and poor road conditions.

BEYOND INFORMALITY

Much urban expansion is happening informally and unguided by planners. However, whether in formal or informal areas, housing development generally happens without basic infrastructure and services in place. The growth and consolidation of peripheral settlements is associated with gradual improvements in the services and infrastructure, commonly created by residents through informal self-help solutions

and various strategies to attract formal service providers. Settlements with some level of services and infrastructure are comparatively more attractive for housing development, regardless of the official planning status of the land, and transport services are especially important in shaping further growth and consolidation of peripheral settlements.

The homeowners' ability to successfully establish themselves as homeowners implies that they do not belong to the poorest segments of the urban population. Furthermore, there is nothing temporary about the developments. Houses are generally built in modern building materials and homeowners commonly invest considerable resources in house construction, plant trees and connect to services, reflecting that the majority consider their current house as their permanent place of residence. These findings elicits a reflection on the applicability of terms such as slum and squatter areas commonly applied to expanding peripheral settlements due to the widespread informality of tenure. With the connotations of temporariness, concentrations of poverty and sub-standard housing, none of these terms are appropriate nor accurate depictions of the developments emerging on the peripheries of the cities.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Urban development policies to manage urban growth are urgently needed. Many urban residents are born and grow up in the city, and many migrants to urban areas are well-established and have no intention of returning home. It is vital that these facts are recognised by policymakers and planners.
- The large plot sizes favoured in the urban planning system promote further spatial expansion and are unnecessary because of the limited importance of urban farming in the livelihood activities of urban residents. Rather small plots with homestead gardens should be favoured along with access to good quality services and recreational spaces at the neighbourhood level.
- Ideally, investments in services and infrastructure should accompany or precede housing development in expanding peripheral areas. At the least local plans should be in place to ensure that land is set aside for infrastructure and services to be developed post-settlement.
- Policies should aim at decentralizing urban facilities and employment opportunities to reduce the need for daily or regular mobility, while simultaneously ensuring sufficient provision of transport services, especially public transport.
- Policies need to look beyond the formal–informal dichotomy and engage proactively in the planning of housing, services and infrastructure in consolidated as well as newly developing settlements, irrespective of their planning status. Planners should work with local residents to ensure appropriate settlement layouts, set land aside for roads, utility, corridors and communal facilities and create institutions for monitoring and penalization of non-compliance.



Project identity

PROJECT NAME	RurbanAfrica: African Rural-City Connections.
COORDINATOR	Jytte Agergaard, Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, ja@ign.ku.dk
CITY DYNAMICS COORDINATOR	Katherine V. Gough, Department of Geography, Loughborough University, k.v.gough@lboro.ac.uk
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DURATION	April 2012 – March 2016 (48 months)
BUDGET	EU contribution: 2 694 863,75 €.
FURTHER READING	<p>Andreasen MH. (2013) Working Paper 1. Population Growth and Spatial Expansion of Dar es Salaam. An analysis of the rate and spatial distribution of recent population growth in Dar es Salaam. Rurban Africa Working Papers. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen.</p> <p>Andreasen MH and Møller-Jensen L. (2016) Beyond the network: Self-help services and post-settlement network extensions in the periphery of Dar es Salaam. <i>Habitat International</i> 53: 39-47.</p> <p>Andreasen MH and Agergaard J. (2016) Residential mobility and homeownership: Tracing intra-urban settlement trajectories of residents in the periphery of Dar es Salaam. <i>Population and Development Review</i> 42(1).</p> <p>Andreasen MH, Agergaard J and Møller-Jensen L. (forthcoming) Suburbanization, homeownership aspirations and urban housing: Exploring urban expansion in Dar es Salaam. <i>Urban Studies</i>.</p> <p>Gough, K. V.; Esson, J.; Andreasen, M.H.; Singirankabo, A. U.; Yankson, P. W. K. ; Yemma-fouo, A. with Mainet, H. and Ninot, O. (2013): <i>City Dynamics, RurbanAfrica State of the Art Report 3</i>, Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark</p> <p>Gough, K.V.; Andreasen, M.H.; Esson, J.; Mainet, H.; Namangaya, A.H.; Yankson, P.; Agergaard, J.; Amankwah, E.; Kiunsi, R.; Møller-Jensen, L. and Yemmafouo, A. (2015): <i>City dynamics: mobility and livelihoods of urban residents, RurbanAfrica Work Package 3</i>, Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark</p> <p>NBS. (2013) 2012 Population and Housing Census. Population Distribution by Administrative Areas. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: National Bureau of Statistics.</p> <p>NBS. (2015) Migration and Urbanization Report. 2012 Population and Housing Census. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania.</p> <p>Find the material and further information on the project at: rurbanfrica.ku.dk</p>

rurbanafrica.ku.dk

RurbanAfrica - African Rural-City Connections

The African Rural-City Connections (RurbanAfrica) project explores the connections between rural transformations, mobility, and urbanization processes and analyzes how these contribute to an understanding of the scale, nature and location of poverty in sub-Saharan Africa. The RurbanAfrica project is advancing the research agenda on rural-city connections in sub-Saharan Africa by addressing a range of crucial components: agricultural transformations, rural livelihoods, city dynamics, and access to services in cities. Our aim is to generate new insights into the relationship between rural-city connections and poverty dynamics.

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